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3-15-1971

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT : Chile: Progress Report on Preparations
for the April 1971 Elections, Including
a PDC Request for Campaign Funds

1. The Marxist government of Salvador Allende has mobilized all its resources to obtain massive electoral support for the Popular Unity coalition in the April 1971 elections. Chilean politicians generally believe that Allende will gain substantially in these elections and that his government may even attract a majority of the vote. Opposition parties, bolstered by the financial support authorized by the 40 Committee on 28 January, are campaigning strongly and hope to deny Allende the popular mandate which he seeks and thus check the government's march toward a totalitarian state. The Christian Democratic Party (PDC), weakened by intra-party rivalries and unable to raise the large commercial and industrial contributions it had expected, has requested an additional [redacted] for the April elections. This additional support would bring the total authorization of funds for electoral support of the PDC to [redacted].

2. This presentation describes the progress which has been made by opposition parties since 28 January, when the 40 Committee authorized a total of \$1,240,000 for electoral support of opposition parties [redacted]. It also includes a recommendation, in which Ambassador Korry has concurred, for an additional [redacted] for the PDC.

Declassified and
Approved for Release
July 2000

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3. These [REDACTED] are available within the funds allocated to the Deputy Director for Plans for FY 1971.

[REDACTED]
William V. Broe
Chief
Western Hemisphere Division

CONCUR:

[REDACTED]
Deputy Director for Plans

15 March 71
Date

[REDACTED]
Executive Director-Comptroller

Release of the attached memorandum to the members of the 40 Committee is authorized:

[REDACTED]
Director of Central Intelligence

15 MAR 1971

Date

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MEMORANDUM FOR: The 40 Committee

SUBJECT : Progress Report on Preparations for the
April 1971 Elections. Including a PDC
Request for [REDACTED] Campaign Funds

I. SUMMARY

This memorandum describes the actions taken by this Agency since 28 January 1971, when the Committee authorized financial support in the amount of \$1,240,000 to Chilean opposition parties for the April 1971 municipal elections

[REDACTED] This memorandum also recommends that an additional [REDACTED] be authorized for electoral support of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC).

II. BACKGROUND ON ELECTIONS

During February, the Marxist government of Salvador Allende launched a massive drive to recruit electoral support for Popular Unity (UP) parties, particularly among lower income groups. The Communist Party's municipal election effort has been especially impressive. The Communists, who now have access to government spoils, have been spending unprecedented sums of money to recruit and pay party organizers, roving entertainment groups and

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sign painters to supplement the efforts of their local candidates. In addition, the Communists are participating in UP efforts to recruit and organize the Popular Unity Committees (CUP) which serve as clearing houses for government patronage and favors (ranging from handing out powdered milk to helping UP loyalists get government jobs) and which are also active in the election campaign. CUP activity is particularly intense in areas where the PDC continues to control community organizations called Neighborhood Committees created under the Frei administration. The UP has been very successful in registering the 18-21 year olds who will be voting in April for the first time. In late February President Allende told a political associate that he feared the UP would only receive about 47% of the total vote, and that if his calculations are correct the UP will have a much harder task in justifying the acceleration of its program than it would if the UP were to receive more than 50%. Allende also said he had not paid sufficient attention to the elections, blaming this on his preoccupation with organizing the new government. Despite Allende's fears, the majority opinion of Chilean politicians is that the UP will gain substantially in the municipal elections and that his government may even attract a majority of the voters. Ambassador Korry estimated on

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5 March that the Communist Party will poll around 20% of the vote, the Socialist Party (including its various splinter groups) about 18% and the Radical Party upwards of 10%. Considering that the other three members of the coalition will pick up something, this is not a very encouraging assessment, but it underscores the need to bolster the opposition parties and to help them conduct electoral campaigns which will maintain the morale of their followers and evidence their continuing vitality.

III. MUNICIPAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS OF OPPOSITION PARTIES

National Party (PN)

On 28 January, the Committee authorized the passage of [REDACTED] to the PN; [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for support to PN candidates in the municipal elections. Of this sum, [REDACTED]

The overall campaign strategy of the PN is to build its image as a party of strength, determination and will to do battle with the UP, especially the Communists. Its

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principal propaganda thrust is embodied in its electoral slogan "Pongase firme Junto a Un Partido Firme - El Partido Nacional" (Put Yourself Firmly Behind a Strong Party - The National Party). While the PN sees the UP as its main enemy, it continues its long-standing rivalry with the PDC, which it hopes to displace as the strongest single party in Chile. [REDACTED]

its leaders have made some effort to mute differences with the PDC, but its attacks on the PDC have not ended completely. The PN hopes to gain about 25% of the vote, some of which will be at the expense of the PDC.

The PN sees unemployment as one of the most important national issues of the campaign, and much of its radio advertising is pegged to unemployment and to the loss of individual liberties under the UP regime. The National Party directorate has assumed responsibility for setting the tone of the campaign, for radio advertising, for the printing of a limited number of electoral posters for each PN candidate, and for fund raising. The party is engaged in a general get-out-the-vote campaign with a special appeal to women, emphasizing the bleak future for children under a totalitarian regime. The directorate has distributed funds to each local district, with the provinces of Santiago and Concepcion receiving the highest percentages; the local

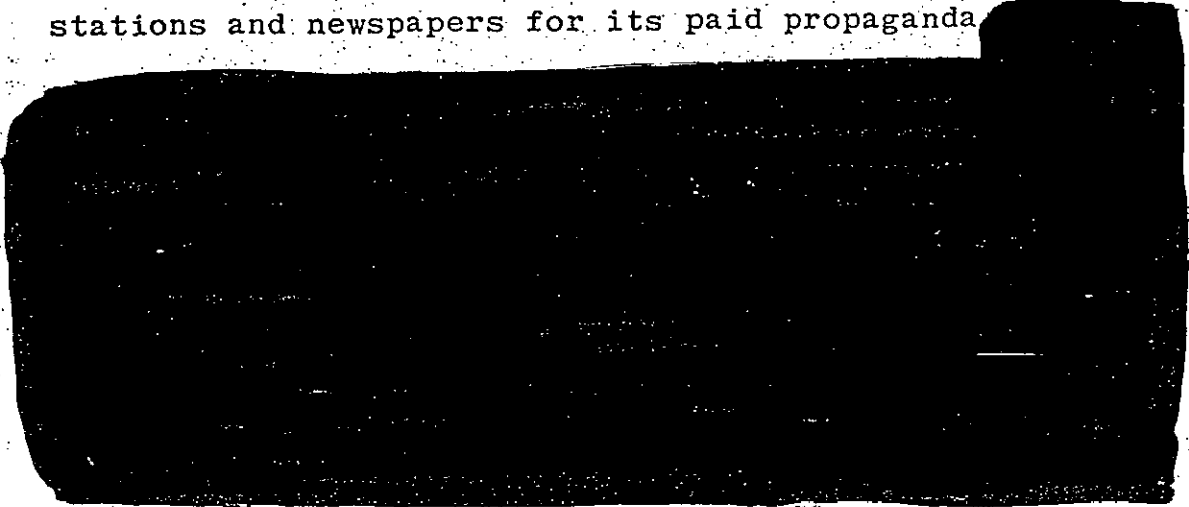
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districts are responsible for getting voters to the polls on election day.

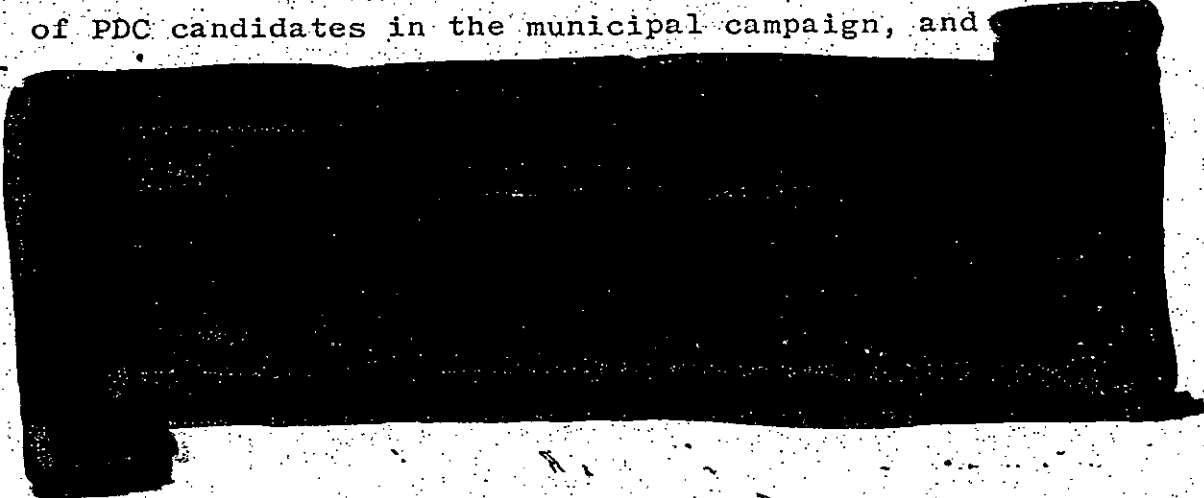
The PN is making effective use of commercial radio stations and newspapers for its paid propaganda



Christian Democratic Party (PDC)

On 28 January the Committee authorized the passage of  to the PDC: 

 for the support of PDC candidates in the municipal campaign, and 



The PDC national organization has deteriorated greatly since the September presidential election and is only now

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being reestablished for the April campaign. Internal contradictions between the left wing of the party, led by Tomic, and the moderate faction, led by Frei, have weakened the PDC and made it vulnerable to attack from both the left and the right. In addition, the party has been badly hurt by Popular Unity Committee proselytizing among lower income groups; there are numerous sectors where PDC organizers have been shut out and party supporters are physically afraid to display PDC propaganda. A local public opinion survey with nation-wide voter preference sampling was financed by the party during February; final results are not yet in but preliminary returns give the PDC a disappointing electoral percentage.

Despite its organizational weakness, the PDC election campaign has gotten off to a vigorous start in both radio and press. The party's major campaign theme, "Chileno, no Estas Solo" (Chilean, You are not Alone), is considered particularly effective by most observers and obviously appeals to voter uncertainty and latent fears about the Allende regime.



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PDC leaders [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] are doing their best to eliminate party feuding with opposition parties, particularly the PN.

Democratic Radical Party (PDR)

On 28 January the Committee authorized the passage of

[REDACTED] to the PDR. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] for expenses in connection with the municipal election campaign. The PDR hopes to get about 140,000 votes, or approximately 6% of the national total in the municipal elections. The PDR does not plan to hold public campaign rallies but is working quietly among its supporters and relying on personal contact to stress that PR members can vote without fear in the privacy of the voting booth. PDR propaganda is emphasizing illegal land seizures, Communist strength within the Allende government, and the fact that UP policies will create hunger and unemployment. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[illegible]

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[REDACTED]

IV. PDC REQUEST FOR [REDACTED] ELECTION FUNDS

As noted in the proposal submitted to the Committee on 28 January, the CIA Station recommended and Ambassador Korry originally concurred in an election support proposal in the amount of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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On 5 March the CIA Station received a breakdown of PDC expenses through February together with projected estimates of campaign expenses for March and April. The Party believes that total campaign expenses will be about [REDACTED]. The PDC had expected that its fund raising campaign would net about [REDACTED].

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[REDACTED], since the party is running a strong public fund raising campaign which provides the aura of vigorous and successful fund raising. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Ambassador Korry and Acting Assistant Secretary of State Crimmins concur in recommending this [REDACTED] support.

7. RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that the 40 Committee approve the PDC's request for [REDACTED] for the April election, bringing the [REDACTED] authorization of funds for PDC electoral support to [REDACTED]

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